614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[975] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

(829)

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Bobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal*; the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

"Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), " . . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), " . . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'real' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa. Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions [437] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

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183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever [754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

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183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [199] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encinos, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Iíká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

CHAPTER XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids.

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mexicans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining formerly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade.

[Text continues on p. 247]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum.

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule.

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked.

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level.

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists.

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us.

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

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The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

FIG. 183—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon men.

[829]

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 203—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders. 648

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an unusual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile. 628

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the deserted village that bears their name. It was described at the beginning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo. 621 609

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination. 829

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination. 593 594 602 627 [672]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 However, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

796 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual*, two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual*, a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tzoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual*, which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

[829]

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

[756]

Among other forms of the class is a series which represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación*, which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas*, or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik*, meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias*, settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos*, or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kašlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán*, the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzo'ontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

• 829 171 121 Communities such as Tzo?ontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
789 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

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woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

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829 reject their past as they appraise their present conditions, but rather fit it into a historic continuum. It is the core of their self-awareness that makes possible the kind of change which I have characterized as a moving equilibrium.

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

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The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed:

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apuštol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two.

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross.

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac-

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate.

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tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?ĕunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege. As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people. Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transaction may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambivalent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day, Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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view of the case by the judges and the other civil authorities, the president would have the suspected witch locked up in the local jail and then give the key to his enemy. The following story illustrates this procedure:

When we were still part of the township of Teopisca [sometime before 1931] F. went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, whom he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president arrived at the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said that they were going to Teopisca to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way another group met them and asked them where they were going. The President replied, "To Teopisca." The group which had encountered them asked them if they would like a drink to "heat their body." They gave one cup and then another. They then cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of me?tiktatik that goes to Chiapa de Corzo. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

After telling this story, my informant concluded, "Therefore, little by little, the pueblo is getting better because we scared the curers with the permission of the president to kill them." He felt that this was the point at which the power of the curers, who were more and more frequently being accused as witches, was broken.

While the usual course of action, once a man was accused of witchcraft, was to kill him so that there would be no danger of revenge, the following case illustrates punishment by beating.

The time was 1935. There was a very bad curer who stole much cattle. One man who heard that he had stolen his cattle wanted to kill him, but the curer met the man and killed him in an old house. The town authorities seized the curer and forced him to pay one thousand pesos for the bull. The principales punished him by tying him to a tree and beating him five or six times. They beat him well for the town. After they beat him they brought him to prison in San Cristóbal and gave him over to the Ministerio Publico to arrange the case. He did not return to the pueblo but went to another place. In five years he returned to his pueblo.

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace."

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms.

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios.

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices.

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get

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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [the fiscal] was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

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621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
194 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
62 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[193] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
62 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzo?ontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzo?ontahal as a case

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sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

Conformity and deviance. Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔič' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the interior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the women sit inside in a semicircle.

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571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of [584] a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the betrothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is [181] undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

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his community, who desire to buy something in credit from the Ladino (land, cattle, fireworks, etc.). The Indian Fiador carries the accounts of the debt, counting with corn grains, and is responsible for collecting the money from his fellow villagers and for paying the debt to the Ladino. Finally, the Patrón relation is one in which the Ladino becomes a temporary employer of the Indian who desires to work for wages.

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Indian knowledge of the Ladino town and the frequency of the relationships with the town decrease as the distance of the village to the town increases, so for Amatenango and Aguacatenango, San Cristobal is a place to which one goes but few times in a year while the Capital of Mexico is a place where one is "likely to be eaten by cannibals."

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Within the villages themselves the only Ladino residents are the school teachers, who are looked upon with suspicion and resentment, there being a tradition that local school teachers attempt to increase their meager salaries by monopolizing Indian produce, or interfere with Indian political affairs, at times even with the good will of "civilizing" them. A frequent Ladino visitor is the priest (the same for Aguacatenango and Amatenango and thirty-one other villages), a necessity if one is to keep on performing the Church ceremonies connected with the village religious holidays, which were established as part of the calendar of festivities early in Colonial times, and now are an important part of community ritual.

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Other Ladinos who live in the surrounding territories do not participate in any way in the life of the communities, with the exception of peddlers and the infrequent visits of the

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

462 [23] [24] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [879] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the [558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
• [829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
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Change of Officials

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil ǩuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *ǩobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

[P. 215-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

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Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

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Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

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In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

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In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]